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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SUBMITTED PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1010 (1995)

The present report concerning events in Srebrenica and Zepa is submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1010 (1995) of 10 August 1995, on which the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council as soon as possible, and no later than 1 September 1995, with any information available to United Nations personnel regarding compliance with that resolution and concerning violations of international humanitarian law.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. In its resolution 1010 (1995) of 10 August 1995, the Security Council demanded that the Bosnian Serb party give immediate access to representatives of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other international agencies to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa who were within the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, and that the Bosnian Serb party permit representatives of ICRC to visit and register any persons detained against their will, including any members of the forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. The Security Council also demanded that the Bosnian Serb party respect fully the rights of all such persons and ensure their safety, and urged that any persons detained be released. It reiterated that all those who committed violations of international humanitarian law would be held individually responsible in respect of such acts.

3. The Secretary-General was requested to report to the Security Council as soon as possible, and no later than 1 September 1995, with any information available to United Nations personnel regarding compliance with the resolution and concerning violations of international humanitarian law.

4. In compliance with the resolution, the present report gives information gathered by various United Nations entities, in particular the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), UNHCR, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, and the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the former Yugoslavia since 1991. It also contains factual information received from ICRC. The report focuses on questions of access, detention and violations of international humanitarian law following the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa and is produced following close cooperation between the aforementioned bodies.

5. A brief chronology of events appears in the annex to the present report.

II. UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE

A. Access

6. Various efforts have been made by my Special Representative to obtain access for UNPROFOR to Srebrenica and Zepa but these efforts have not yet been successful. My Special Representative raised the issue in a meeting with President Milosevic on 12 August 1995, in which he referred to the commitment made by General Mladic to General Smith on the question of ICRC access to the missing from Srebrenica. President Milosevic promised to do all he could to convince General Mladic to grant such ICRC access but indicated that he was having difficulties communicating with General Mladic.

7. In addition, my Special Representative sent a letter to Dr. Karadzic expressing concern at reports of grave violations of international humanitarian law, the fact that many people were unaccounted for, and at allegations of the existence of a mass grave. He requested as a matter of urgency that UNPROFOR be allowed to investigate the report on the existence of mass graves near Srebrenica. He also requested that immediate access be given to representatives of UNHCR, ICRC and other international agencies to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa, and further that ICRC be permitted to visit and register any persons detained. However, all efforts made so far have not produced the desired results. Various efforts have additionally been made at the field level by UNPROFOR to gain access. At the date of submission of the present report, these efforts had not produced any result.

B. Violations of international humanitarian law in Srebrenica

Introductory remarks

8. A report was produced by UNPROFOR on 2 August 1995 summarizing the findings of a fact-finding mission of the Civil Affairs component of the United Nations Peace Forces (UNPF) which spent eight days in the Tuzla area. The Civil Affairs team, working in conjunction with the Centre for Human Rights of the United Nations Secretariat, gathered information concerning human rights abuses that occurred following the fall of Srebrenica by interviewing displaced persons and holding discussions with representatives of numerous international organizations and local non-governmental organizations active in the area, including the UNHCR, ICRC, Médecins sans frontières (Holland), the European Community Monitoring Mission, the Tuzla Citizens Forum and the Helsinki Citizens Assembly.

9. In addition, the report reflected interviews with members of the Netherlands battalion of UNPROFOR who were in Potocari and Srebrenica at the time the events took place. The interviews were conducted by staff of Civil Affairs in conjunction with the Centre for Human Rights. The information from the peace-keepers confirmed some aspects of testimonies given by the displaced persons but was necessarily more limited in scope because once the offensive began, their freedom of movement within the enclave was extremely limited and essentially confined to the compound in Potocari and its immediate surroundings.

10. The report noted that final conclusions on the full extent of human rights abuses were not possible until access was obtained to the region where the violations were reported to have occurred and to those who were still in detention. However, the report provided some summary conclusions on the character of abuses and suggested areas for continuing investigation and analysis.

Arbitrary detention, abductions and disappearances

11. The report referred to the situation in Potocari between 11 and 13 July 1995 in which a number of the above-mentioned violations were reported to have occurred. The report stated that Bosnian Serb soldiers had begun sporadically to separate men from their families on 12 July. Several accounts described Bosnian Serb soldiers forcibly abducting men during that day and at

night as they were sleeping. Many of those interviewed described hearing screams during the night, including men calling for help. Some said that Bosnian Serb soldiers who took the men away during the night were wearing United Nations uniforms.

12. The separation process reportedly became more systematic on the following day. As women, children and elderly men were forced onto buses, boys as young as 15 years and men as old as 74 years were prevented from boarding with their families and were detained by Bosnian Serb soldiers. Members of the UNPROFOR battalion were reported to have witnessed this separation process and seen men taken to a house near the buses after being separated from their families, allegedly for questioning. According to reports, the separation process itself was only occasionally violent, with most of those facing separation offering little resistance to the armed Bosnian Serb soldiers. In some cases, the soldiers also told families of the men concerned that the men would not be hurt and that they would be returned soon.

13. There were a number of credible accounts that some young women were forcibly taken from amongst the displaced people gathered in the Potocari area. One account stated that Bosnian Serb soldiers forced young women they had selected (about 8-10 in total) to walk from the area with the soldiers two-by-two. In another testimony, approximately 50 young women and girls were forcibly taken from the group while the displaced persons were boarding buses. The report stated that there were a number of such accounts but none of those interviewed could provide the names of any women or girls who remained missing.

14. Harassment and detention of passengers on the buses from Potocari to the confrontation line were also reported to have occurred. Some of the few remaining men, who were almost exclusively elderly or disabled, were taken from the buses and not returned. There have also been statements relating to young women being forcibly taken from the buses by Bosnian Serb soldiers. No testimonies have been received from the alleged victims of such assaults.

15. A number of reports noted the detention of men. A peace-keeper saw a football ground in which 300 persons were detained; a displaced person put the number at 500 and observed that many were wearing Bosnian Government army uniforms. Other displaced people gave accounts of seeing groups of captured men standing near the road with their hands behind their heads.

Summary executions

16. The UNPROFOR report concluded that there was substantial evidence that an unknown number of Bosnian Muslim men had been executed in Potocari by Bosnian Serb soldiers. The extent of these abuses remains unclear. A peace-keeper directly witnessed the execution of one man. He watched as the victim, who was dressed in civilian clothes, was forcibly removed from a large group of displaced persons. A short time later, the peace-keeper heard screaming and, upon investigation, saw an unidentified Bosnian Serb soldier shoot the same man in the head. The victim appeared to be dead.

17. Other members of the UNPROFOR battalion witnessed beatings that might have ended in executions. One member recounted seeing a man beaten with a rifle butt

and then dragged behind a house. Although the UNPROFOR soldier did not see what had happened next, he heard one shot and believed that the man had been killed. A second UNPROFOR soldier described two similar incidents, in which he witnessed men dressed in civilian clothes being beaten, then hearing shots after the men had been taken out of sight.

18. In addition, displaced persons and UNPROFOR soldiers reported seeing the bodies of 6 to 10 men who had apparently been executed. After hearing from displaced persons rumours of dead bodies, at least two teams of UNPROFOR personnel went to investigate the scene. Both teams found 10 (according to one account 9) bodies of men dressed in civilian clothes lying near a river. One soldier noted that each man appeared to have gunshot wounds in the back of the head. Similar accounts were received from displaced persons.

19. There were also accounts of the sighting of six or seven bodies, in what appears to be a geographic location different from the bodies found by the small river. Again, according to those accounts, the victims were all men wearing civilian clothes.

20. At least two displaced persons recounted seeing additional dead bodies in a corn field near a factory compound in Potocari. One UNPROFOR soldier heard pistol shots coming from the cornfield. Two displaced people described seeing a body of a man hung from meat hooks in the factory compound.

21. Passengers on a bus journey from Potocari to the confrontation line reported that dead bodies were seen on the road, particularly between Bratunac, Konjevic Polje and Kasaba. The dead were usually described as men wearing civilian clothes and several displaced persons said that the bodies they saw had had their throats cut or had been mutilated.

22. The report also referred to interviews of survivors of alleged mass executions of captured and detained Bosnian Muslim men by Bosnian Serb soldiers. In one such interview, a Bosnian Muslim man described how he had been transported with a large group of Bosnian Muslim men to a stadium in the village Mrvinjci, where General Ratko Mladic allegedly addressed them. According to the man interviewed, the group was transported to a school near Karakaj, where about 20 men were shot. The group was then again moved to a place where a river empties into a lake. At that site, the man stated that Bosnian Serb soldiers lined up groups of 5 to 10 men, ordered them to fall on the ground with their hands tied behind their backs, and then shot them. The man who was interviewed said he received a minor head injury that bled profusely, allowing him to appear dead and later escape. According to his statement, the executions began at dusk on 14 July and lasted past midnight.

23. Another Bosnian Muslim man described mass executions at Karakaj also on 14 July. According to his statement, a large group of Bosnian Muslim men who had been gathered in a sports hall were transported blindfolded in small groups to a nearby destination where they were ordered to hold hands and make a line. The man recounted that after he took the hand of his cousin, Bosnian Serb soldiers began shooting with automatic weapons, causing his cousin to fall to the ground. The man said that the weight of his cousin's body pulled him to the ground, and he was able to survive because his cousin's body was on top of him

and he pretended to be shot. A third Bosnian Muslim man who was interviewed described the execution of about 250 men who had been lined up along a ditch about one and a half hours away from Kasaba.

24. The report noted that without access to the sites of these alleged events and a full accounting of the number detained and missing, it had not been possible to determine whether mass summary executions occurred as described. Based on the testimonies available, however, there was ample evidence that a thorough investigation should be conducted into the conditions under which detained and captured men were and are being held by the Bosnian Serb authorities.

Cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment

25. Consistent reports were collected by Civil Affairs staff concerning the physical abuse of displaced persons at Potocari. One man described in detail the process by which Bosnian Serb soldiers selected a man from the midst of a large group and returned him five minutes later with his face cut and covered in blood. Members of the UNPROFOR battalion saw brutal beatings of several men which may have ended in executions as described above.

26. The staff of Civil Affairs also received consistent accounts that Bosnian Serb soldiers stopped the buses and demanded that displaced people give them money and jewellery. A location frequently mentioned for those stops was near Konjevic Polje. The soldiers would enter a bus and make a variety of threats, including shooting in the air, in order to force the passengers to surrender their valuables. Several people described being threatened with knives by soldiers in order to force their cooperation. The looting and burning of Muslim homes in Srebrenica by Bosnian Serb soldiers was also reported.

27. The report refers to compelling testimonies of abuses against wounded and infirm persons being carried on an UNPROFOR medical convoy that left Potocari on Wednesday, 13 July. The convoy was first stopped by Bosnian Serb soldiers at Kravica, where UNPROFOR troops were forced to give the Bosnian Serb army soldiers their flak jackets. Near the confrontation line, the convoy was again stopped and Bosnian Serb soldiers forced between 30 and 40 persons off the trucks. The process was violent and at least one wounded man was severely beaten. An UNPROFOR soldier confirmed that the Bosnian Serb soldiers pulled the wounded off the trucks, kicked and pushed them and hit them with their guns. The most seriously wounded remained on the trucks and were forced to return to Bratunac with the UNPROFOR soldiers. During the trip the convoy was again stopped, this time for a period of some seven hours and the medical staff was not allowed to treat the patients. One man died during the night, apparently from lack of medical care.

28. Those who were taken off the medical convoy were forced to remain in Tisca overnight. During that time, according to a number of credible accounts, a woman was taken by force from the group. When she returned several hours later, she was extremely distraught and reported that she had been raped. Another group of Bosnian Serb soldiers arrived early the next morning and separated out 13 of the patients and 7 of the medical staff. This group was allowed to

proceed to Kladanj; those who remained, including two nurses and a medical technician, were returned to Bratunac.

29. The report also noted accounts concerning harassment and physical violence directed against Bosnian Serb civilians in small villages in the Tuzla region. In Simin Han, the houses of several Bosnian Serb families were robbed and burned. Local police reportedly refused to intervene until much of the damage had been done. In Jasenice, a Bosnian Serb man was reported killed by unknown persons while members of the local police were watching. In Srenja Dragunja, Bosnian Serbs have sought protection through local Serb leaders in Tuzla because they feel threatened by the large number of displaced persons from Srebrenica who have been resettled in the area. The Bosnian Serb population in Zivinica has also reportedly been subjected to harassment, beatings and evictions, including one incident in which a Bosnian Serb farmer was allegedly beaten by displaced people while he was working in his field.

Conclusions

30. The report contained the following conclusions. While the number of those killed, beaten, detained and sexually assaulted remains unknown, consistent accounts by displaced persons and United Nations personnel lead to a strong presumption that Bosnian Serb soldiers committed substantial violations of international humanitarian law following the fall of Srebrenica, including mass arbitrary detention of civilian men and boys, and summary executions. While Bosnian Serb authorities continue to deny these violations, their failure to provide adequate access to affected areas or to the detained serves only to reinforce the conclusion that significant abuses occurred.

31. Further investigation of this situation, in particular of the allegations of mass executions in Karakaj and Kasaba as well as those missing and detained, is clearly warranted. To that end, Civil Affairs staff have met with and briefed four representatives of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the former Yugoslavia since 1991 who travelled to Tuzla.

C. Detention and other abuses in Zepa

32. A Civil Affairs team undertook a mission to Zepa from 25 to 30 July and collected the following information concerning the fate of men of military age. The evacuation of civilians began on 25 July with two convoys and ended on 27 July. It was confirmed that 36 civilians of military age were taken off the buses on the way to Kladanj. In Zepa, Bosnian Serb soldiers were seen looting houses and carrying away household goods in trucks. A mosque was reportedly demolished.

33. As no census has been taken since the war started, it is not possible to determine the exact size of the population of Zepa. However, according to local sources there were between 6,600 and 6,700 people in the pocket before the evacuation, including men of military age. Of this number 4,800, mostly women, children and elderly, were evacuated. The same sources stated that about 1,500

men of military age, possibly accompanied by family members, had taken to the hills and woods near Zepa.

III. OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

A. Access

34. UNHCR has requested access to the Bosnian Serb-held territories in question both by letter and in a meeting between the Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees and a representative of the Bosnian Serbs, Professor Nikola Koljevic. However, no permission has been granted to date.

35. UNHCR considers it indispensable to gain access to Srebrenica to establish whether all Bosnian Muslims have left the enclave. It considers it likely that not all Bosnian Muslims living in Srebrenica have managed to leave or decided to do so. There may be wounded, sick and elderly people who have been unable to leave.

B. Violations of international humanitarian law

36. UNHCR had only two local staff and no international staff in Srebrenica at the time the attack took place and thus has little direct information about what actually occurred during the offensive. Most of the information it has gathered was derived from interviews with displaced persons in Tuzla. On 19 July, a preliminary report was produced on the basis of initial interviews, which revealed allegations of rape, robbery, executions, the separation of men and the shelling of civilians. These were unconfirmed reports, however, and on 28 July a further report was issued after a more in-depth investigation. Approximately 70 people were interviewed over the course of four days for the second report. The testimonies collected referred particularly to shelling and targeting of civilians who journeyed on foot from Srebrenica to territory under the control of the Bosnian Government. One testimony, which supports a number of other accounts, reported attacks resulting in many deaths and injuries at Buljim village, Kamenica, Konjevic Polje, Snagovo and Balkovica. The interviewer heard a number of allegations of rape but did not meet any victims. Those travelling on the medical convoy also reported being verbally abused and left to sit in a field all night. The separation of men from the rest of the group was confirmed. From these reports it appears that between 6,000 and 8,000 men who started their escape from Srebrenica to Tuzla remain unaccounted for.

IV. UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

37. In an effort to assess the human rights situation, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights immediately dispatched a representative to Tuzla in order to review the situation of the displaced persons from Srebrenica and Zepa. The High Commissioner also called for an immediate end to violence and human rights violations. He reminded all those responsible for the violations of human rights of the affected population of their accountability. Since the

resignation of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, the mission of the Centre for Human Rights which serviced his mandate has continued to discharge its tasks under the direction of officials of the Centre in Geneva. In recent weeks this has involved, inter alia, research and investigation concerning events in Srebrenica and Zepa. However, the human rights officers have not been given access to the areas in question. The High Commissioner is continuing consultations with the relevant authorities in order to obtain access for human rights officers to all places and persons of concern. The High Commissioner has coordinated his activities closely with my Special Representative.

V. SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Access

38. On 24 July, in a letter to the Bosnian Serb leadership, the Special Rapporteur made a request for access, but has received no response.

B. Violations of international humanitarian law

39. The Special Rapporteur presented his findings on the question of violations of international humanitarian law following the fall of Srebrenica in his report dated 21 August 1995. That report was based on information gathered by the Special Rapporteur during his mission to Tuzla from 22 to 24 July, as well as an investigation conducted by staff of the Centre for Human Rights in conjunction with the Civil Affairs component of UNPF referred to above.

40. In addition, his report was also based on interviews with members of the battalion of UNPROFOR who were in Srebrenica and Potocari at the time the events took place. Approximately 20 peace-keepers were interviewed at Zagreb by the staff of the Centre for Human Rights and that of Civil Affairs.

41. In his report, the Special Rapporteur confirmed much of the information given above by UNPROFOR in relation to executions, physical assaults, inhuman and degrading treatment, abductions, arrests and disappearances.

42. On the question of mass executions, the Special Rapporteur referred in particular to allegations that captured men had been detained and then executed on a mass scale at various outdoor locations in the vicinity of Srebrenica. Those allegations cannot be fully verified without access to Bosnian Serb-held territory, but the following pieces of information appear to be of relevance. A report confirmed that a prisoner of war assembly point was established by the Bosnian Serb Army near the football ground at Nova Kasaba. An UNPROFOR observer also reported seeing between 300 and 500 men, mostly uniformed, in a football field near Nova Kasaba. Another witness saw the same scene, as well as a pile of bodies nearby.

43. An account was given of a witness who reported being captured with a large group of men. He was held in various places and then taken to an outdoor location at night, where he reported that 5 to 10 men were taken out of the

trucks at a time, put in a line and then shot by a group of Bosnian Serb soldiers. He reported seeing that about 100 men had been killed when his turn came. After a bullet slightly grazed his leg, he lay on the ground pretending to be dead and then escaped. The Special Rapporteur reported that he had received two other similar testimonies. An UNPROFOR soldier saw a row of shoes and rucksacks on a football ground near Nova Kasaba, of approximately 120-150 men in total, and two vehicles carrying corpses.

44. In his report, the Special Rapporteur referred to the photographs taken by the Government of the United States of America showing patches of disturbed soil in a football field near Nova Kasaba. The Special Rapporteur also made reference to the thousands of persons reported missing by ICRC.

45. The Special Rapporteur has stated that the evidence so far obtained leads to the chilling conclusion that mass executions may have occurred. Further conclusions, particularly in terms of the total number executed and the fate of those unaccounted for, cannot be drawn without access to the territory under the control of Bosnian Serb forces, the examination of the sites in question, the exhumation and examination of corpses which may be found and the availability of further information on those still reported missing.

VI. INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE PROSECUTION OF PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SERIOUS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW COMMITTED IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA SINCE 1991

46. The Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia is currently investigating allegations that serious violations of international humanitarian law have occurred recently in Srebrenica and Zepa. Investigators have been sent to the field and to Tuzla in particular, in order to interview refugees and relevant military personnel.

VII. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS

A. Access

47. ICRC has been allowed more freedom of movement in the region than any other agency but this has been very limited in scope. Until a month prior to the fall of Srebrenica, ICRC had access to the areas in question. However, during the critical period and subsequently, and despite repeated requests to the Bosnian Serb authorities, ICRC has not received access to Srebrenica or Zepa.

48. At the height of the crisis itself and for a month beforehand, ICRC made several representations to the Bosnian Serb authorities in Pale through its delegation there. On 8 August, the President of ICRC made a representation for access in a meeting with Dr. Karadzic. After the enclave had fallen, written representations were made for access to those persons from Zepa and Srebrenica who had been detained. In response, access to five detention facilities was given by General Mladic as described below.

B. Detainees

49. ICRC conducted intensive negotiations and representations at the highest level, including between the ICRC president and the Bosnian Serb leader and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). On 26 July, those negotiations resulted in permission from General Mladic to conduct the first visits to Bosnian Serb detention centres since the take-over of Srebrenica. ICRC was able to visit Batkovic camp, where it registered 164 people from Srebrenica who were detained by the Bosnian Serbs. On a visit to Bratunac the delegation was informed that no more prisoners were being held. A visit to Foca prisons was cancelled for security reasons. The delegation was not granted access to Kula Butmir prison at Sarajevo, where according to the Bosnian Serb authorities two prisoners from Srebrenica were held. The Kula Butmir prison was later visited by ICRC but no one from Srebrenica was found among the detainees. According to ICRC none of those detained have been released.

C. Evacuation of the wounded

50. On 18 July, ICRC reported that it had evacuated 88 wounded from Bratunac and Potocari. Three medical teams from Pale, Bijeljina and Belgrade were involved and the evacuation took place on 17 and 18 July. The evacuation had to pass through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) as passage was not allowed through Bosnian Serb-held territories. The evacuees, some of whom were in a very serious condition, were taken to Tuzla. When all the wounded had been collected in Bratunac on the first day of the evacuation, 23 of them were refused authorization to leave. ICRC considers them to be prisoners of war and has noted their identities in order to be able to seek permission to visit them.

D. Missing persons

51. As of 20 August, ICRC reported that it had received more than 11,000 tracing requests from relatives of those missing following the fall of Srebrenica. Caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions about the numbers missing on the basis of this figure as there may be multiple applications for tracing requests and, furthermore, resolved cases are not always reported to ICRC. ICRC has also reported that thousands of men have reached territory under the control of the Bosnian Government territory but the exact number is unknown.

E. Missing and detained from Zepa

52. ICRC has registered 44 prisoners taken after the fall of Zepa in Rogatica following the fall of the enclave on 29 July 1995. ICRC has also confirmed that it has had access to 796 persons, mostly men of military age who had gone from Zepa to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) across the river Drina and are currently in the region of Uzice.

VIII. OTHER SOURCES

53. The Government of the United States has gathered information on the question of violations of international humanitarian law following the fall of Srebrenica. Mr. John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State, produced a report following his two-day mission to central and north-eastern Bosnia in which he stated that he had received credible accounts that people were executed, brutally treated, tortured and raped. He also stated that large numbers of people from Srebrenica and Zepa were still missing. For Srebrenica, credible estimates vary between 6,000 and 12,000; for Zepa the number of missing is estimated at 3,000.

54. On 10 August 1995, the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations made a presentation to the Security Council on the information collected by her Government on the matter (see S/PV.3564). The Permanent Representative referred to two witness statements of survivors of alleged mass executions and presented a set of photographs showing, inter alia, large groups of persons being held in fields near Nova Kasaba, and patches of freshly disturbed earth in these fields taken a few days later. She said that the Government of the United States believed that those patches of earth were recently made mass graves.

55. This and other relevant information received concerning the fate of displaced persons from Srebrenica and Zepa provides a basis for further investigation by the competent bodies of the United Nations.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

56. Despite repeated requests by my Special Representative, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, ICRC and other international agencies, the Bosnian Serb authorities have refused access by United Nations bodies and institutions, as well as other international organizations, to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa who are within the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that are under the control of Bosnian Serb forces. Even ICRC, which had enjoyed limited access in these areas in the past, has been denied access since the height of the crisis.

57. This lack of access has made it impossible to collect direct and first-hand information on the extent to which the Bosnian Serbs respected the rights of all displaced persons and ensured their safety. However, there is significant prima facie evidence that violations of international humanitarian law occurred during and after the Bosnian Serb offensive on Srebrenica. In-depth investigation, including interviews of those still detained, must take place before more detailed and extensive conclusions can be drawn.

58. The Security Council may therefore wish to reiterate its urgent call to the Bosnian Serb leadership to authorize immediate and full access to persons displaced from Srebrenica and Zepa who are within the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under its control. Such access should include the possibility for an impartial international investigation to take place. Access

should also be granted to ICRC to visit and register any persons detained against their will, including any members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

59. It must be stressed, however, that access to the relevant area weeks or months after the events in question have taken place cannot adequately substitute for monitoring and investigation during or immediately following the crisis. There is little doubt that sufficient time has elapsed to permit interested parties to tidy up much of the evidence that could have been used to substantiate and expand on the findings noted in this report. The evidence already accumulated, however, demonstrates that Bosnian Serb forces in all likelihood committed substantial violations of international humanitarian law and human rights, including summary executions, following the fall of Srebrenica. Access remains a crucial step in terms of establishing the full extent of violations of humanitarian law and human rights, and in addressing any abuses that might persist.

Annex

Chronology of events

6 July 1995	Intensive bombardment of the enclave of Srebrenica began.
7 July 1995	The Swedish shelter project at Slavovici is shelled throughout the day by Bosnian Serb artillery.
8 July 1995	At 0800 hours, the 3,000 residents of the Swedish Shelter Project flee to Srebrenica.
9 July 1995	The Bosnian Serb Army enters Slavovici at noon and burns the village.
10 July 1995	Bosnian Serb artillery intensify their attacks on Srebrenica, including fire on the civilian hospital. Seeking protection at the UNPROFOR compound in Srebrenica, thousands of women and children attempt to block the departure of the UNPROFOR battalion but are not permitted into the compound.
11 July 1995	A group of mainly draft-age Bosnian Muslim men assemble in a very large column and embark on a journey on foot lasting at least several days from Srebrenica to the confrontation line. The column comprises about 15,000 people, with few women and children in the group. Srebrenica falls to advancing Bosnian Serb forces. About 25,000 people, mainly women, children and some non-draft age men, flee to the UNPROFOR headquarters at Potocari. They remain there for a short period and are then forcibly removed by bus to the confrontation line in an evacuation organized by the Bosnian Serb forces. The civilian hospital at Srebrenica is evacuated at 1300 hours. Patients are transported by the UNPROFOR battalion to their compound at Potocari. Bosnian Serb artillery shells the area in which columns of civilians are fleeing along the road to Potocari.
12 July 1995	General Mladic is present at Potocari. Forced evacuation and separation of Bosnian Muslim men from the displaced persons begins. Displaced persons cross the confrontation line near Kladanj and begin to arrive at the Tuzla airbase at about 2130 hours.

13 July 1995	The sick and wounded are evacuated to the confrontation line from Potocari in a medical convoy of UNPROFOR vehicles with the permission of the Bosnian Serb forces.
16 July 1995	The first groups of military-age men begin arriving in the Tuzla region through Bosnian Serb Army lines. Estimates are that 6,000-7,000 arrive over the next several days.
25 July 1995	Bosnian Serb forces take control of Zepa. Evacuees are transported from Zepa in Bosnian Serb Army buses under United Nations escort to the last checkpoint before Kladanj.
25-27 July 1995	Several thousand refugees from Zepa are transferred from Kladanj to collective centres in the Zenica region.